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A collection of articles on the historical, operational, doctrinal, and theoretical aspects of intelligence.

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Case study of how the Sino-Soviet Bloc intelligence services provide black support for overt psychological warfare themes.

PSYWAR BY FORGERY

Alma Fryxell

There is nothing new about the use of forged documents in the psychological warfare operations of the Sino-Soviet Bloc intelligence services, especially in pursuit of particular aims within a single country; West Germany, for example, has been flooded with them for years. But the years 1957 and 1958 saw a noticeable increase in internationally distributed propaganda-by-forgery supporting the general Bloc objectives of discrediting the United States and other Western countries and of promoting division in the West. For these two years and the first half of 1959, 18 such forgeries surfaced in facsimile have been discovered, and a number of other instances wherein the text of a purported document was quoted without attempt at reproduction or a document was at least falsely reported to exist makes a total of 32 cases available for study from this period.

Some of these were sniper shots at individual important targets, without relation to any of the others and usually without any further follow-up; but most of them—25—were interconnected into nine distinguishable series, and some formed rather elaborate progressions in prolonged campaigns given heavy play in the overt propaganda media. The false documents were many of them originally surfaced in the overt Bloc media, but a greater number were planted, especially in the underdeveloped countries, in small "independent" newspapers subsidized for such purposes or otherwise controlled. Several were transmitted to their targets through diplomatic channels and a few by covert mailing.

The orchestration of these varied media in a coordinated campaign requires central direction. We know that black propaganda is a function of the Bloc foreign intelligence services under close direction from high Party echelons. It is

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possible that the entire Bloc show is directed by a unit of the CPSU Central Committee and run by the KGB through its liaison officers with the other services.

Single Documents

An example of the isolated false document is provided by the most recent of the cases in this period, the only one concerned with Black Africa. On 4 March 1959 the Hungarian press agency MTI transmitted in French to its outlets in Europe the purported text of a document signed by the prime minister of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sir Roy Welensky, and by the "head of the European organization of Central Africa, Alfred Finsent,"¹ which declared that it had been officially decided to transfer African nationalist prisoners "to another concentration camp where all those who would not express their resolution to break with African nationalism would be exterminated." MTI explained that this meant the Hola camp in Kenya, and reported further:

The African prisoners involved number about 80,000. If, after interrogation, they refuse to disown the Nationalist movement they will be thrown into ditches called "poison wells" filled with poisoned water. Within a few days the poisoned water will penetrate the body and kill. . . . The Cairo bureau of the Kenya African Association states that according to their knowledge, 35 Africans have already been exterminated "experimentally" by this procedure . . .

MTI's sensational disclosure of this perhaps too heinous plan was not picked up and used, as far as we know, in other media during 1959.

A more ambitious single-shot effort was made in June 1958 by the Czech intelligence service. It forged, with accurate duplication of format and style, an entire issue of *Ceske Slovo*, a bona fide newspaper published in Munich by Czech émigrés, and mailed it black from Munich and Vienna to current and former subscribers, using one genuine mailing list it had acquired some years earlier by unknown means and another recently obtained by burglarizing the *Ceske Slovo* offices. The

¹ Apparently a bad transliteration from Cyrillic through Arabic, along with a garbled title. Alfred Vincent was chairman of the Organization of European Members of the East African Central Legislative Assembly. Neither Cyrillic nor Arabic has a c, and Arabic has no v.

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forged edition carried anti-West propaganda and announced that the newspaper was going out of existence because its editors were disillusioned with the West. In an exceptional follow-up, articles from it were quoted as authentic not only by the official *Rude Pravo* but by Party papers in Austria and Luxembourg and a non-Party Chicago monthly, *Svobodne Ceskoslovensko*, that follows the propaganda line of the Czech regime. The Western CP organs are generally not used in the distribution of Bloc forgeries.

A particularly dangerous kind of forged document was put into the mail on 5 July 1957 by the Hauptverwaltung Aufklaerung, the East German equivalent of the KGB, which in January of that year had been assigned psychological warfare as a major operational responsibility. In France that summer one of the biggest news stories was the killing of the Strasbourg police chief's wife on 17 May by a bomb mailed her husband in the guise of a gift package. There had been mailed at the same time and in the same Paris post office a batch of particularly vicious hate-letters to French officials and private citizens in Paris and Alsace-Lorraine, and the conviction was growing that these and the terrorist bomb stemmed from the same source. The letters, demanding the return of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany, were one of several series of Nazistic letters and leaflets signed "Kampfverband fuer ein Unabhaengiges Deutschland," an organization since determined to have been invented by the HVA for agitatory purposes (and given a fraternal plug in a May 1958 broadcast from Radio Moscow warning the French against it and implying that it was secretly supported by the West German government).

The single document mailed on 5 July 1957 was a deep and dexterous thrust evolved from the fictitious Kampfverband's campaign. Addressed to a high French official in West Germany, it was a forged letter from Elim O'Shaughnessy, head of the Political Division of our Bonn embassy, calling the State Department's attention to the activity of German reactionary and ultranationalist groups and recommending that the U.S. Government support these groups and use them. Having been delivered thus simply to its target, the French government, the forgery was never published or replayed in any way. It was convincing enough to have caused genuine damage in U.S.-

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French relationships—except that it had been typed on the same machine as some other HVA psywar productions.

The remaining four individual cases were mere allegations of the existence of incriminating documents, made once and not repeated. One concerned the Near East: on 1 December 1958 the Czech press agency CTK attributed to "the Cairo press" a report that the new Sudanese government had found among the old government's papers some secret documents showing U.S. bribery of high Sudanese officials. The other three were targeted in the Far East and appeared in the *Bombay Blitz*, a Soviet-controlled "independent" weekly—a State Department directive to Ambassador Bishop in Thailand that he "screen the loyalties of the King and his government members"; a secret pact between Premier Kishi and Secretary Dulles "to permit use of Japanese troops anywhere in Asia"; and a letter from Chiang Kai-shek to President Eisenhower warning that "every third soldier" in the Nationalist army was disloyal.

The Taipei Cables and Indonesia

Blitz was also the vehicle for an extended if not very sophisticated series of facsimile forgeries devised to take advantage of the 24 May 1957 riot at the American embassy in Taipei. On 14 September it prepared its readers for the forgeries by reporting rumors that Ambassador Rankin was in trouble and might be dismissed because some of the embassy's important secret documents had been lost when the premises were raided by the rioters. In its issue of the following week it reproduced the first of these documents, two cables to Washington wherein Ambassador Rankin discusses with some obliquity the methods to be used in assassinating Chiang and others in his entourage and recommends the murders be disguised as accidents. The text was couched in allusive terms for the sake of verisimilitude, but in its accompanying comment *Blitz* removed any uncertainty its readers might have had about its meaning and left nothing to their imagination. This is the usual Bloc practice in the surfacing of verbatim forgeries; but the rest of the Taipei series used less subtle texts.

The next issue of *Blitz*, 28 September, reproduced the heading and first lines of two fabricated cables from Ambassador

Allison in Indonesia to the Department, as "repeated to Taipei," and quoted their full texts. One urged increased aid, including combat units from Formosa, for dissident Indonesian movements; the other reported progress in intrigues to overthrow Sukarno and gave directions for packaging arms shipped from Formosa and Malaya to the Darul Islam. The same treatment was given the final item in the series, in *Blitz*' 12 October issue. Beginning on the same page that disclosed the Kishi-Dulles secret pact, there was reproduced

US PLOT TO MURDER CHIANG

ASIA'S FOREMOST NEWSMAGAZINE
EVERY SATURDAY PRICE 25 CENTS

TELEGRAM SENT

TO: SECRETARY
WASHINGTON
FROM: CHUNGKING
DATE: April 4, 1957
SUBJECT: CHUNGKING
URGENT
RE: 100

Four telegrams No. 1348 of April 2, 1957.
At the present moment it could be rather difficult to carry out version No. 1 in your apparently prefer, owing to the lack of funds in Yunnan's treasury that at the moment is in a very bad state. There is also no one who could treat some of the necessary will not lose heart and tell Gimo everything.
The situation is further complicated by the fact that Chiang Ching-kuo continues to maintain complete control of the secret service. Preparations for version No. 1 might, therefore, be discussed with him. Chiang Ching-kuo would take measures to make it likely the entire enterprise, including the necessary funds and the entire enterprise, would be successful.
I consider therefore version No. 3 preferable, although it is not as good as version No. 1. It is to be decided. It will depend on proper timing and the situation is to be decided. In any case I agree that a final decision should be taken as soon as possible.

TELEGRAM SENT

TO: SECRETARY
WASHINGTON
FROM: CHUNGKING
DATE: April 9, 1957
SUBJECT: CHUNGKING
URGENT
RE: 100

Latest reports from very reliable sources on the attitude of Gimo's entourage indicate that the plan outlined in your telegram No. 1348 does not solve the problem.
In my opinion, it is necessary to go further and, besides the plan outlined in your telegram No. 1348, to take similar measures against the persons mentioned in your report. These measures should be taken against persons who are in the army and who are in the old guard against serious services have fully aware this time.
Meanwhile we shall continue to "secret" officers and in the appointment of reliable leaders in the military and in the army and in the old guard against serious services have fully aware this time.
In view of the general opinion prevailing here I have drawn up certain measures to be taken before carrying out the actions authorized in your telegram No. 1348.

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a cable from Washington which deplored the tendency of SEATO members exhibited at its Canberra session to use the pact to obtain economic aid, reminded U.S. ambassadors that "control over the armed forces of the Asian members of SEATO remains our prime objective," and outlined steps to keep the local governments in line. *Blitz* apologized that the



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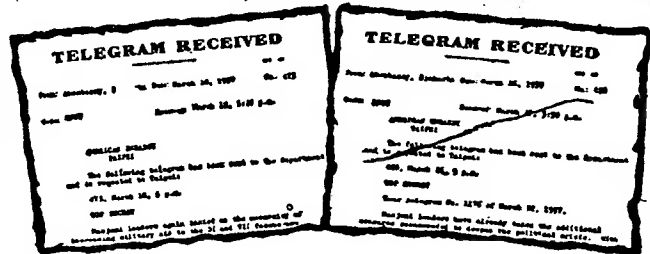
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sh Atrocities In Oman

From A Correspondent
British Military Authorities in Bahrain

American Plot To Overthrow Sukarno



PROOF POSITIVE FROM TAIPEH DOCUMENTS

HONGKONG: The machinations of American gangster-diplomacy which has made concerted bids to overthrow the government of President Sukarno in Indonesia and replace it by military and communal stooges early this year were reported in *BLITZ* at that time.

Now irrefutable proof comes to hand in the shape of documents which were lost by the United States Embassy at Taipei following the riots in May. (Photocopies of the documents relating to the US plot to liquidate Chiang Kai-shek were published last week in *BLITZ*-Editor).

The first of these is a copy of the telegram from the American Embassy in Djakarta to the State Department which was sent to the American Embassy in Taipei. The telegram is No. 473 of March 18, 1957 received in Taipei on March 19 at 5:30 P.M. Its text is as follows:-

The following telegram has been sent to the Department and is repeated to Taipei:

073, March 16, 5 p.m.

Manjumi leaders again insist on the necessity of increasing military aid to the DI and TII forces now operating in Sumatra, West Java and elsewhere in Indonesia. In view of the grave deterioration in the position of these forces they request that such aid should not be limited to the delivery of arms and ammunition and suggest the transfer of units from Formosa to help the DI forces.

Can our Ambassador in Taipei ascertain if it is possible to expect a favorable decision on this question?

ALLISON.

The second telegram is No. 490 of March 16, 1957.

The following telegram has been sent to the Department and is repeated to Taipei:
490, March 16, 9 p.m.
Your telegram No. 1176 of March 12, 1957.

Manjumi leaders have already taken the additional measures to deepen the political crisis. With the support of the individual already known to you (This appears to be a reference to Dr. Mohammed Hatta-Editor). Matar was able to secure a definite refusal from his party's central executive to join the new government. Sjahrir has guaranteed full support for the Manjumi by the PSI both in overthrowing the Wapadani Party and in forming a new government under the control of the Manjumi and their supporters, and also in the move to discredit Sukarno. As already reported, a joint Manjumi-

committee to unify and co-ordinate these efforts will be set up in Djakarta in the very near future. It will include representatives of the central executives of the PSI and Manjumi.

I think that with the help of his agents in the armed forces Sjahrir will be able to get control of the army and replace Natsion by Setrobo. Simbolon is suggested as Deputy Chief of Staff. In my view, assistance to the military councils in Sumatra must be increased through the available channels. In the event of the Manjumi's failure to seize power, a Sumatran government could be formed which would then break with the central government. The individual known to you will on my advice leave Sumatra next month to establish personal contacts with the leaders of the Banteng and Garuda military councils of the DI and TII forces. He was supplied with additional money for this purpose.

Please inform the appropriate quarters of the Darul Islam leaders' request that arms sent to them from Formosa and Malaya must carry no trade mark and should be coded in containers used locally for agricultural machinery, textiles, canned food and the like.

ALLISON.

These copies of the telegram speak for themselves. Not only does US diplomacy seek to subvert the government of Indonesia by buying off stooges but by "transfer of units from Formosa to help the DI forces." Even such a minor detail as the camouflage to be used for packing American arms is not omitted.

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: DEPARTMENT WASHINGTON
 Date: March 21, 1957
 No: 1109
 Code: 077
 Subject: March 27, 11 a.m.
 AMERICAN EMBASSY
 TAIPEI
 1109, March 21, 12:35 p.m.
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The Manila Pact: Results of the Canberra Session.

The recent session of the Council of the Manila Pact has revealed a tendency on the part of some 120 members such as Thailand, Philippines and the Philippines to use this organization primarily as an additional source of economic aid.

Proof Of Subversion In Taipeh Document

International Gangsterism Of American Embassies

HONG KONG: "We must strengthen the positions of our friends in local governments and support those who are being less affected by nationalist ideas" directs a telegram from the State Department of the United States to its embassies in Asian countries.

The copy of this telegram No. 1109 dated March 21, which was sent by the American Embassy during the riots in Taipeh last May, shows the extent to which diplomatic privilege is being abused.

Military Nature Of Treaty

The other four important points the instructions make are:

- 1: "to strengthen of some of the vitality and vigor of human hand and human mind. However, particularly it is to the eternal credit of the Soviet science and engineering, of the countless men and women in the Sovietland that this dream of the Vedic and Buddhist has been realized."
- 2: "Impress upon those in power that their position directly depends on their loyalty to the United States."

WORLD TIDES

Beginning Of A
New Epoch

By: **RAMESH SANGHVI**
 BLITZ'S FOREIGN COMMENTATOR

THE SOVIET BABY MOON, revolving round our earth at nine hundred kilometers in the virgin space and completing each revolution in approximately ninety-six minutes heralds a new age in the history of human race. With the firing of the rocket which sent the Baby Moon in the outer space an epoch ended. A long, long age when humans were bound to the earth has passed away.

The glory of this epochal achievement goes generally to the vitality and vigor of human hand and human mind. However, particularly it is to the eternal credit of the Soviet science and engineering, of the countless men and women in the Sovietland that this dream of the Vedic and Buddhist has been realized."

First, mankind has broken the chains binding it to the earth. The unknown space beyond is now within its reach. We have speculated about the cosmic world, given names to the various planets and, on the basis of meagre and indirect evidence, formed certain beliefs. All this will soon come to an end.

UP-TO
ELEG



LONDON: Startling information has reached London that Japanese Premier Kishi and U.S. Secretary of State Dulles signed a secret military agreement during Mr. Kishi's visit to Washington in last June.

I can reveal exclusively to BLITZ that the agreement allows use by mutual consent of Japanese armed forces in military operations in any part of the Far East.

In return, there is a U.S. Government by agreeing to the establishment of a U.S.-Japanese Joint Security Committee to supervise military co-operation between the two countries.

The actual signing of the agreement between Mr. Dulles and Mr. Kishi took place on June 22nd, but I understand discussions on such a pact had been going on many months before. Probably this agreement is

what Mr. Dulles said at a press conference after Mr. Kishi's visit that results of the "much more" than the United Nations Security violation of the "agreement" by which Central European should have had a seat in American reward for good behaviour.

Any such agreement reflects a parallel for A Eisenhower Doctrine in the East, bringing an end to the current American substitute its own for Britain's cost.

The recent visit to the Japanese Foreign Ministry by Mr. Fulbright, in spite of his of the purpose of the so-called Anglo-Japanese ship and co-operation, keeping a wary eye on potentialities of life should India.

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by the pro-Communist weekly *La Patrie* published in Bangkok, the capital of the only proper Southeast Asia mainland member of SEATO. On 3 February 1958 Radio Moscow added details implicating Ambassador Cummings in the U.S. subversion of Indonesia documented in the forged Allison cables and broadcast an account of it to the United Kingdom. On 6 April the Djakarta *Berita Minggu*, another controlled "independent" weekly, announced that the authenticity of the Allison cables had been confirmed, and Peking's news agency NCNA carried this confirmation in its English-language transmission for Europe.

This late replay of the Allison cables merged them into another series concerned with Indonesia. The outbreak of open rebellion there in early 1958 brought new specific and heavily played charges that the United States had planned the revolt and was covertly giving it military support. On 22 March *Blitz* told its readers that U.S. officers at SEATO headquarters in Bangkok had been ordered to submit immediately an opinion on the construction of U.S. atom bases in Sumatra:

It is known here that a Top Secret agreement has been concluded by the Indonesian separatists with the SEATO and American groups, which provides for both SEATO and U.S. bases in "free" Sumatra. This agreement was finalized after secret talks which took place recently in Tokyo between Col. Sumunal, representing the "Separatist Government" of the Ussain-Shafruddin rump, and representatives of the U.S. Embassy.

This report was followed up on 15 May, in the Rangoon weekly *The Mirror* (a third controlled "independent"), by the text of a letter said to be from rebel leader M. Sjamsuddin to Ambassador MacArthur, evidently on the subject of implementing the atom-base agreement. It began:

Your phone call proved to be real magic. The meeting . . . was very useful. We have agreed on practically all the details. Now, I hope, ties will remain permanent and we will receive all necessary materials without delay.

Soon, however, it became necessary to counter the effect of the United States' publicized friendly negotiations with the Sukarno government, and a new forgery was promptly launched to show that the U.S. public attitude was merely a smoke-screen. On 8 June *The Mirror* printed the text of a purported letter from naval intelligence chief Rear Admiral Lau-

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rence Frost to the rebel leader Kawilarang, telling him "not to despair just because the U.S. issued statements expressing on the surface 'no interference' in the Indonesian civil war. We will continue giving assistance to you through Taiwan and the Philippines and other channels." After two weeks this story was repeated in a chronic Indonesian vehicle for plot charges, the "independent" Djakarta *Bintang Timur*, and its version was carried by the Chinese NCNA and a week later in Soviet domestic broadcasts.

We happen to have some details on the mechanics through which such counterfeit texts would be placed in *The Mirror* or another of the half-dozen receptive Burmese papers. The KGB rezidentura at the Rangoon embassy would receive them from Moscow in Russian, translate them there into English, and pass them in this form to the more or less controlled press outlets. The papers would do their own translating into Burmese, but the rezidentura would check the published texts against the original Russian and report any variations to Moscow.

Expansionist Israel

A most complex and enduring misinformation series using the full orchestra of rumor campaign, diplomatic whispers, planted intelligence information, press allegations, and published forgeries began half a year after the abortive British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt. In mid-March 1957 rumors began circulating in official and diplomatic circles in Paris that the French and Israeli General Staffs were working together on a plan for a new joint action against Egypt. When the rumors were traced it was learned, first, that they had no foundation in fact and, second, that all traceable such tales had a single local point of origin—one André Ulmann, director of a small "independent" weekly, *La Tribune des Nations*, but notorious as a pro-Soviet propagandist. During the first weeks of April these rumors were complemented by intelligence reports received from Lebanon and from Italy to the effect that France "was launching a plot in cooperation with Israel." The Italian report said that "the Israeli press has not mentioned the matter, but details are being discussed publicly."

On these subtle foundations the campaign was openly elaborated in the fall. On 12 October the Bombay *Blitz* carried

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a long article exposing "Israeli plans to dismember the Arab states and organise an empire":

A *Blitz* correspondent in a West Asian country had an opportunity of getting acquainted in detail with a secret strategic plan of the Israeli General Staff. We may be able to publish the plan in full in future. . . .

It envisages military operations against the countries bordering on Israel. . . . In general, the Plan provides for the annexation of the territory bounded by the Suez Canal, the River Litani and the Persian Gulf. . . .

The scheme takes into account the circumstance that Israel will not be able to rely on victory if she acts alone. In this connection, assistance on the part of the U.S.A., Britain and France is envisaged beforehand. The Plan especially emphasizes that "the U.S. is interested in a clash between Israel and the Arab States" and that "the U.S. interest in the strategic points of the Middle East is explained by the striving to strengthen her positions in this oil-rich area."

A month later, in fulfillment of its promise, *Blitz* put out a 78-page booklet, entitled *Dagger of Israel*, containing the "Strategic Plan of the Israeli Army for 1956-57, translated from the original in Hebrew." This document, an obvious fraud, is a rambling, badly written tract with the details given in the October article as its propaganda climax. The book had been in preparation, according to its introduction, since March, i.e., the time when the "French-Israeli General Staff" rumors had appeared in France.

After this the drive apparently went into winter quarters, but it was renewed the following spring. On 4 April 1958 Mikhail Stepanovich Rogov, Counselor of the Soviet embassy in Paris and a KGB officer, told a Western diplomat—who of course told his government—that the USSR was currently "worried about increased French-Israeli political and military cooperation." The next day *Blitz* took up the refrain, with slight variations:

Diplomatic circles at Tel Aviv report that the Israeli Armed Forces command is elaborating jointly with the French Army General Staff a so-called "Plan of Preventive Hostilities" against the UAR. . . . Meantime, Israel is frantically seeking other alliances. . . . The Americans are now helping her to an alliance with the anti-Arab NATO member Turkey.

U.S. involvement, not to be left thus subordinate, was the main burden of another *Blitz* article on 19 April reporting

that Secretary Dulles had announced in a closed session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee "that the United States would support the demands of the Ben Gurion Government on enlarging the territory of Israel at the cost of the Arab lands." Recounting the year-old rumors of secret joint planning by the French and Israeli General Staffs, *Blitz* said that the U.S. Government had been kept fully informed of the plan by both the French and the Israeli government.

In October the secret Israeli strategic plan surfaced a year earlier by *Blitz* was included, as a ten-page excerpt, in a 147-page book published by the State Publishing House for Political Literature, in Moscow, under the title *The State of Israel—Its Position and Policies*. Presented as a "history of Israel and the Zionist movement," the book as a whole is a vicious propaganda attack, of the misinformation variety, against the State of Israel, all of its political parties except the CP, and "the Zionist bosses"—the United States in particular and the West in general. It seems to have been designed for use in Communist study groups, assuming a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on the part of the reader. But its similarity in other respects to *Blitz*'s less comprehensive *Dagger of Israel* is great enough to present the possibility that both manuscripts were prepared in the same place, if not written by the same individual. It is notable that rather crude material like this Israeli plan and Admiral Frost's reassurance to the Indonesian rebels, designed for unsophisticated targets in Asia and the Near East, is deemed suitable for the more knowledgeable but carefully warped Soviet audience.

In November a new edition of the book *Arab Dawn* published by *Blitz* carried the author's statement that he had learned in October, in Beirut, "of the latest in the series of Anglo-American plans to 'cut Nasser down to size,' which France has since endorsed." The plan, "scheduled to take place next spring or earlier," provided for Western action against Lebanon, Iraq, and the Sudan. In addition, however:

A supplementary plan has been attached to the main project. The supplementary document introduces the latest plan of the Israeli General Staff to take over the West Bank of the Jordan River by means of a swift blitzkrieg. The Israeli plan, which apparently has the approval of the CIA, the British Ambassador in Beirut and the U.S. Ambassador in Tehran . . . is built around the

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possibility of either the flight or the assassination of King Hussein of Jordan in the near future.

The "Israeli General Staff" canard, now enshrined in an official Soviet publication, can continue indefinitely with variations its role as a part of the Bloc psychological warfare arsenal. On 13 April 1959 the Turkish Foreign Ministry denied with protest a report published in the Moscow *Red Fleet* that the Chief of the Israeli General Staff had come to Ankara toward the end of March and held secret talks on the question of Turkey's support of Israel for an attack against the Arabs, especially against the UAR, in the near future.

Other Near East Forgeries

Alleged U.S. intrigues against the UAR, a side-line in the elaborate Israeli effort, were the whole theme of a shorter but equally important series of forgeries. On 9 April 1958 the clandestine Bizim Radio, located in Leipzig but broadcasting in Turkish as from Turkey, carried the following "news item":

Report from Cairo—The American State Department has sent a secret directive to its envoys in the Middle East with a view to overthrowing the UAR. The directive points out that Soviet influence in the Arab countries has increased owing to Soviet recognition of the UAR and urges the envoys to use every means to spoil Soviet-Egyptian relations.

On 26 July, a fortnight after the Iraqi coup, a document answering to this description was published in facsimile by the Cairo daily *Al Ahram*. It purported to be a State Department "circular letter" over Assistant Secretary Rountree's signature, cabled on 17 April to diplomatic missions in the Middle East. Explaining that any apparent softening of U.S. policy toward the UAR was merely a tactical device, it stated that one of the principal aims in the Middle East was to destroy the UAR by splitting it into its original Syrian and Egyptian components, to stop the growth of Egyptian influence, and to spoil Soviet-UAR relations.

This forgery was apparently thought convincing enough to be given rather wide play in the overt Bloc media, most heavily to domestic and Near East audiences but also to Europe and South Africa. On 2 August *Blitz* carried it, making explicit the supposition that the incriminating document had come to light in Bagdad as a result of the Republican coup. In De-

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خلاصة ما رايته ، اننى بعينى ، باذنى ، وجدتني وجها لوجه امام الحرب
 في احد المطارات ، كنت استطيع ان اعد أكثر من ألف طائرة .
 كلها من ذلك النوع الاستراتيجي ، الذي يستطيع ان يحمل اعلى القنابل
 فيها حيث يتعين عليها ان تهوى
 وفي احد الطرق ، كانت الحشود تتدفق ، دبابات على القطار و
 اول لها ولا آخر
 وفي احد المكاتب رايته مارشالات ، وجنرالات ، ولقد احسيت ان اصا
 وعوده - في اللحظة التي تصلي البشيرة كلها الا تجيء - فان لمسات خد
 نالها قوى مدمرة لا يستطيع خيال على الارض ان يتصور مدى آثارها
 وقال لي احد جنرالات الجو وهو يشير الى داورية من الطائرات تصعد //

ING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BAGHDAD

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

POLAFF (2)

CONTROL 2279

RECD: April 18, 1956
10 40 AM

FROM: WASHINGTON

ACTION: BAGHDAD, CIRCULAR 11 April 17, 5 30 PM

This circular letter is being sent by the State Department to all U.S. diplomatic representatives in the Middle East on the subject of the United States' policy in regard to the United Arab Republic.

The State Department reaffirms that the basic objectives of the U.S. policy in relation to the U.A.R. remain unchanged. It stresses anew that expansion of Egypt's sphere of influence is counter to the Joint Resolution of the Congress on the Middle East, strengthens Arab nationalism, encourages anti-Western and particularly anti-American tendencies in the Middle East and Africa, undermines the Baghdad Pact, an important link in the strategic network of the free world, and impairs the position of Israel the interests of which the U.S. can in no way ignore.

2. The fact that actual control over the transportation of Middle East oil to Europe both through the Suez Canal and via all the pipelines to the Mediterranean is now concentrated in Cairo seriously endangers American interests in this area. The U.A.R. is now in a position to exert pressure upon the U.S. and other western powers. This possibility can become a formidable weapon in the hands of President Nasser if he happens to fall back on the Soviet bloc in the future.

وثيقة سرية من سفارة أمريكا في بغداد

FIRST PAGE OF ROUNTREE CIRCULAR

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Psywar By Forgery

cember, when Rountree visited the Near East, Radio Cairo and NCNA revived the story again.

The Rountree circular, like the Taipei cables, did look more or less like the real thing, but it could not stand up under close examination. Its "Confidential/Security Information" classification was one discontinued in November 1953; there is no "circular letter" in Department nomenclature, and a "circular instruction" is not transmitted by cable; its numbering was bad, a real Circular 11 having been transmitted nine months earlier; the form on which it was typed had been replaced in August 1955; State messages are not signed by an Assistant Secretary but only by the Secretary or Acting Secretary. Operational carelessness is also evident in Bizim Radio's having described it eight days before its purported date and three months before the Bagdad coup was supposed to have made it available.

The Rountree forgery was followed up in late March and early April 1959 by one other, sent anonymously in photostat to some papers and parliament and government members in the Near East and passed around in intelligence circles there. It was ostensibly a letter from Under Secretary Robert Murphy assuring Ambassador McClintock in Lebanon that "Nasser is not the man we shall support" since "you are right to note that we have nothing in common with Nasser and his kind" and adding, with obvious reference to the UAR and Iraq, that "You certainly are aware of what I have in mind when I say that after the snakes devour each other, the jungle becomes safer!" It was never published or otherwise replayed.

The presence of U.S. troops in Lebanon in 1958 had been the occasion for another brief false document campaign. On 11 August Radio Bagdad reported that "in Lebanon, Saeb Salam has received a cable from four American paratroopers expressing their desire to volunteer for service in the people's forces." The cable was never produced nor the story elaborated, but on 25 August the outlawed *Beirut Al-Masaa* surfaced a forged letter addressed to members of the U.S. Army Task Force in Lebanon and signed "John H," purportedly an officer in the 79th U.S. Engineer Battalion. This American officer, after a salutation which showed that he was given to the use of Briticisms like "79th Engineers" and "officers and

other ranks" and to solecistic military abbreviations, wrote as follows:

I arrived together with a group of American officers from Munich on 27 July in a Globemaster aircraft. . . . A few days ago we received orders to remain in Lebanon for 15 months to safeguard the peace and security of the United States.

There are also plans to undertake large scale works with the object of transforming the airfields of Rayack and Koin't into American atomic bases; furthermore, 5 rocket launching pads will be erected along the Lebanon-Syrian border. More atomic weapons will be dispatched soon to Lebanon, and Beirut harbor will be transformed into America's principal naval base for its Near Eastern Fleet.

One cannot fail to realize that the object of all these preparations is to wipe out the millions of Arabs who are struggling for their national independence. . . . That is why I am asking you, my comrades, to demand that we be withdrawn from Lebanon to the United States quickly, and if we truly love our country we should return there without further delay. American officers and troops: Don't allow yourselves to be fooled; don't allow yourselves to become involved in military adventure for the benefit of any of the war-mongering factions!

The Chinese NCNA, picking up this story, credited the illegal *Beirut Al-Masaa* for it; but Soviet media—TASS, the *Daily Review of the Soviet Press* distributed by the Soviet Information Bureau in Moscow, and a widely broadcast Radio Moscow commentary—introduced it with only the phrase, "It has become known here," and they gave the writer's name as "Johnson" rather than "John H," apparently having been furnished a different draft of the forgery.

Irresponsible U.S. Atom Pilots

The black support of propaganda campaigns aimed at Europe was more sophisticated. The principal series began with a Khrushchev statement possibly designed for the purpose, possibly only later recognized as exploitable. In his interview with Hearst and two other American journalists on 22 November 1957, Khrushchev stressed the danger inherent in a continuous airborne, nuclear-armed SAC alert and continued, according to TASS:

When planes with hydrogen bombs take off that means that many people will be in the air piloting them. There is always the possibility of a mental blackout when the pilot may take the

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slightest signal as a signal for action and fly to the target that he had been instructed to fly to. Under such conditions a war may start purely by chance, since retaliatory action would be taken immediately. . . .

In such a case a war may start as a result of sheer misunderstanding, a derangement in the normal psychic state of a person, which may happen to anybody. . . . Even if only one plane with one atomic or one hydrogen bomb were in the air, . . . it would be not the Government but the pilot who could decide the question of war.

Some five months later, on 7 May 1958, the official East German *Neues Deutschland* reproduced what purported to be a letter dated 27 March from Assistant Defense Secretary Frank B. Berry to Secretary McElroy reporting that 67.3 percent of all USAF flight personnel had been found to be psychoneurotic, a condition which led to all sorts of phobias, unaccountable animosity, and other irrational behavior. Excessive drinking, drug-taking, sexual excesses and perversions, and constant card-playing were mentioned as further evidence that "moral depression is a typical condition of all crew members making flights with atomic and H-bombs."

Although perhaps convincing to the man in the street, this forgery was full of errors. The letter format would hardly have been used for this kind of report. The vague "group of experts" said to have reached the medical findings would have been named, and no such obscure and ineffectual corrective measures as "further improvement of aircraft equipment" would have been proposed. There is much wrong military terminology—*Internal Zone*, *Air Force Command* and *AFC*, *the Patuxent River AFB (Md)*, *the Cooke AFB (Calif)*. More esoterically, Dr. Berry happened to be away on an official trip on the date of the letter; and finally, it was typed either on a machine assembled in composite from several different makes or one of unknown foreign manufacture.

The letter was widely publicized in the overt media, especially to European audiences. After a month the *Delhi Times*, perennial purveyor of Bloc propaganda, replayed it, and this gave TASS and *Izvestia* reason to run it again, crediting the *Delhi Times*. After almost three months more, on 30 August, the *Bombay Blitz* carried it, explaining that it had been published "early this month" in *Neues Deutschland*: the replay copy fabricated for *Blitz* had apparently been delayed in

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thorized nor qualified to fly and crashed shortly after takeoff, killing himself. This dramatic example of irresponsibility, reported in the press on 14 June, was seized upon by Radio Moscow and linked with the Berry letter on 17 and 18 June.

The next installment was offered on 3 July: the Soviet embassy in London handed the British Foreign Office and released to the Western press a letter from a USAF pilot stationed in England threatening to drop an atomic bomb off the English North Sea coast in order to alert British opinion to the danger of accidentally triggering a nuclear war. Radio Moscow of course immediately linked this aberration with the Berry letter and the crashed bomber, and the sensational character of the forgery together with its solemn official transmittal aroused extensive comment in the non-Communist press throughout the Western world. No doubt in the hope of repeating this delightful burst of publicity, the Soviet embassy on 9 July released two more letters along the same lines but varying in detail and on 15 September still a fourth; but these were virtually ignored by the press.

The last act of the campaign began on 2 October, when *Neues Deutschland*, reentering as the chief protagonist, claimed to have learned through the indiscretion of a USAF officer stationed at Kaiserslautern that SAC commander General Power had recently issued orders forbidding any planes carrying atomic or hydrogen bombs to make flights over U.S. territory. During the next two months the dire implications of this prohibition, together with the Berry letter, were widely played by Bloc media, including the clandestine Radio España Independiente, first to Europe and then to the Near and Far East. By the end of November even *Blitz* had received and printed its copy.

France, Germany, and the Sahara Oil

On 22 January 1958 *Neues Deutschland* reproduced, partly in facsimile, a devious and rambling forged letter which it said had been written by former Under Secretary Herbert Hoover, Jr., to "the American capitalist Curtis, who is now in Venezuela." Its purpose was clearly to recruit Curtis for the job of wresting control of the Sahara oil fields away from France and obtaining ownership for U.S. oil companies in or-

USA-Monopole greifen

Aufschlußreicher Brief

My dear friend,

Your letter was certainly a disappointment to me. Frankly I should have to lose a friend as full of life and vigor and instead acquire a contentedly grumbling acquaintance who would call on me only to complain about his message or to complain about the information in it. I was 8 1/2 or 9 years ago.

I believe me, I would never have bothered you had I not known your true calling. I've recent from Tel. with the Secretary convinced that he still retains the ability to see far ahead. He insisted that we need a truly experienced man for this project, an expert with a talent for administration, even a diplomat, if you wish. The only person at all these qualities in your group would be about 30 years old.

For as to your doubts on the political side of this matter and primarily the attitude of the French to all this business, I must say that they proved far more conciliatory than we expected. We regarded our participation in negotiating Sahara oil. Though the res that occurred last fall, because they managed to write some documents compelling France, made Paris more capricious in selecting partners. It didn't, however, close the doors to us. It seems only natural. You can't spend billions on war in Algeria and expect to have enough free money to develop Africa. Simultaneous mining are already working in partnership with three French firms there. But had for a start.

So may be able to get something from the preliminary talks with Shell started on my initiative with the purpose of acquiring its shares in the Petrole d'Algerie and Petrole de Sahara.

There is some basis to your apprehension that under the impact of Russia's impressive technological advances the French might try, at the expense of Atlantic unity, to balance their relations with the East in an effort to rid themselves of the German nightmare and settle their affairs in North Africa. Similar concerns exist in the State Department as well. When I last saw Foster he said with his usual abruptness that such developments might have an unfavorable bearing on US policy in Europe. Our new Ambassador in Paris also reports that he has serious grounds to worry about a tendency in certain French quarters to follow a more independent course.

Additional information received from our friends in Paris confirms our Ambassador's apprehensions and is causing much anxiety here. The Quai d'Orsay may have mailed a ret and learned about our latest negotiations with the Chancellor.

Miller is right, of course. He made this so that North Africa provides stage for France. If these things are not stopped the Gallic rooster will always strive to get away. These may be harsh words, yet they convey the essence of our diplomacy rather accurately.

I may as well tell you that Foster is rather busy these days. Hamilton is about to arrive in Washington. You will understand, of course, that I am not in a position to tell you

all the details, but you will soon hear about a big NATO reorganization plan which, I am sure, will dispel your doubts.

I can also assure you that during the forthcoming Eisenhower-Macmillan visit the possibility of joint action in North Africa will be discussed in detail. I may conclude from this that our energetic policy in this area is already decided on in principle. It is quite possible that at this stage of the working out of our policy you will have to pay considerable attention to the political aspects of the problem besides your main line of work.

Don't lose any sleep over the complexity of the project. If my proposal is O.K. with you, I will be dealing with it.

Washington, D.C.
October 18, 1957

„Neues Deutschland“ ist heute in nischen Oligopolen in die von den zu Algerien gehörende Sahara dokumentiert wie den Wortlaut ei vertretende USA-Außenminister und

Washington, D.C.
18. Oktober 1957

Mein lieber Freund, Sie schreiben mir Briefe, die eine Enttäuschung für mich! Wirklich, ich würde nicht gern einen so lebendigen und energiegelassen Freund verlieren und dafür einen ewig nörgelnden Bekannten eintauschen, der sich nur an mich wenden würde, um über seinen Mangel an Informationen zu klagen oder um mit den neuesten Klatsch aus Mi racy oder aus Passagier zu erzählen.

Glauben Sie mir, ich hätte Sie niemals belächelt, wenn ich nicht gewußt hätte, was Ihre wahre Berufung ist. Das offene Gespräch, das ich neulich mit dem Minister hatte, hat mich überzeugt, daß er immer noch seine Fähigkeit zu weiter Voraussicht besitzt. Er bestand darauf, daß wir für dieses Projekt einen wirklich erfahrenen Mann brauchen, einen Experten mit organisatorischer Begabung, einen Diplomaten sogar, wenn Sie wollen. Die glückliche Vereinigung all dieser Qualitäten in Ihrer Person würde zweifellos unseren gemeinsamen Interessen dienlich sein.

Sie werden mir niemals einreden, daß wir jemand Besseres für die Arbeit an dem Projekt finden könnten. Glauben Sie ernstlich, daß es jemand gibt, der es wie Sie versteht, die gute alte Wüste Sahara zu greifen und festzuhalten? Man hält viel von Ihnen in Washington und schätzt Ihre Fähigkeiten hoch ein.

Als ich Foster von Ihrem Spoken erzählte, sagte er: „Sie haben noch Zeit, versuchen Sie, ihn das auszutreiben. Sagen Sie ihm alles, was Sie für nötig halten.“

Ich brauche Ihnen nichts über die Wichtigkeit afrikanischen Öls zu sagen. Wir haben viel darüber gesprochen, als ich im Außenministerium tätig war. Ich könnte noch hinzufügen, daß jetzt, wo infolge der russischen Intrigen die Lage im Nahen Osten verworren ist, unser Interesse daran noch wächst.

Nun zu Ihren Bedenken wegen der politischen Seite dieser Angelegenheit und vor allem über die Haltung der Franzosen zu dieser ganzen Sache. Ich muß sagen, daß sie sich hinsichtlich unserer Beteiligung an der Ausbeutung der Saharaböden weit konsistenter gezeigt haben, als wir es erwartet hatten. Zwar sind Sie in Paris seit dem Krieg vom vorigen Herbst, als sie ein paar Dokumente schnappten, die die Aramco kompromittierten.

der to clip the wings of "the Gallic rooster." There were references to German-U.S. conniving against France and to a "big NATO reorganisation [sic]." Other Bloc media picked up the story and publicized it for several days, especially to Europe and North Africa.

About a month later a forged letter to Secretary Dulles from Ambassador David K. E. Bruce in West Germany was mailed

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anonymously to some prominent journalists and other individuals in France and England. It read in part:

It is no secret for the Germans that our policy in Europe is based on the principle the more pressure Germany brings on Britain and France in Europe, the more reasonable they become in Asia and Africa. The West Germans share our view that the sick woman of the Seine is no longer capable of being a good housewife. However, it is possible to discern a certain anxiety in the business community here as to whether German banks will have the future opportunity to expand their exports of capital to French Africa, particularly to the Sahara. Do you not therefore consider it expedient for us, Sir, to give the Germans emphatic assurances that we will continue to help them in the matter of the Sahara, as in other matters, since only a common effort will make it possible for us to consolidate our own positions in this area?

This covert thrust, rather like the O'Shaughnessy forgery of the preceding summer urging U.S. support of neo-Nazi movements at the time of the Kampfverband letters, was never carried into the open, and no kind of follow-up has been reported.

The Summit Conference

Later in 1958 there was another campaign of brief duration centered on U.S. policy, but this was targeted world-wide. On 22 May *Rude Pravo* printed the text of a letter allegedly written to Chancellor Adenauer by Economics Minister Ludwig Erhard, reading in part:

The highest representatives of the West German armament industry support Adenauer's policy of remilitarization without reserve and emphatically ask Adenauer to frustrate all attempts toward a relaxation of international tension, to prevent the convening of the Summit Conference, and to reject, along with the United States, the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Publicity for this item was confined to Czech media, but on 7 June the East German press agency ADN published what it claimed to be the German translation of a "secret instruction from the U.S. State Department sent to the chiefs of U.S. missions abroad" laying down a U.S. policy of sabotaging negotiations for the summit conference. During the following week this forgery was carried to audiences all over the world by Radio Moscow and other Bloc media, and it was revived again a month later for the Near East.

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Rockefeller-Dulles Views on World Domination

The most ambitious of the black propaganda campaigns of the 1957-59 period in point of intended world impact, and the last to be described here, used as its main exhibit a forged letter from Nelson Rockefeller to President Eisenhower outlining a plan for U.S. domination of the world through use of economic assistance as a wedge and cloak for military pacts and political control. It was surfaced by *Neues Deutschland* in facsimile excerpts and full-text translation on 15 February 1957. Subheads inserted into the translated text by the paper give an idea of the message its forgers wished to convey:

*American prestige catastrophically lowered
What is good for Standard Oil is good for the U.S.
How we established NATO
State Department counted on war with China
Iranian foreign policy under our control
Economic "assistance" leads to military ties
Egypt will bog down and need our "assistance"
The hooked fish needs no bait
Forcing neutral states in the desired direction
Bringing others' colonies under our control
About the "selflessness" of American assistance
The objective: to secure military alliances*

The forgery was a credible one in general tone and phrasing (one passage has been spotted as taken almost verbatim from a *New York Times* article), but its execution was really quite unskillful. There are the usual British spellings—*favour*, *economising*, *emphasising*—and some British phrases—"the Flag follows trade," "the hooked fish needs no bait," "ramming home." There are bad translations, apparently from German—"my friends" used in the sense of *Parteifreunde* or *politische Freunde*; the writer's "tiresome" discussion with the convalescent President, where *ermuedende* should have been rendered "tiring." Purportedly written in January 1956, the letter refers in past tense to the visit of Sir Anthony Eden, who did not arrive until 30 January. Worst is the slipshod typing job—indented salutation, uneven touch, ragged margins, strikeovers, errors in punctuation and spelling. It

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UNGEHEUERLICHES

Berlin. „Neues Deutschland“ ist in der Lage, heute unserem Volke und der Weltöffentlichkeit den authentischen Text eines geheimen Schreibens zur Kenntnis zu bringen, das der Erbe des größten amerikanischen Öltrusts, Standard Oil Corporation, Nelson A. Rockefeller, im Januar 1956 an den Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, Dwight D. Eisenhower, gerichtet hat. Der Text, der uns in englischer Originalfassung und in vollem Wortlaut vorliegt, stammt aus einer unbedingt zuverlässigen Quelle.

My dear Mr. President,

I am reluctant to revert to that lengthy and tiresome discussion which took place in Camp David in connection with my proposal regarding a bolder program of aid to under-developed countries. However, recent political developments have shown that our discussion was not a sterile one and that the time has now come when I should state some points that have occurred to me which though they do not pretend to be original may all the same be of some help in approaching one of the most important problems of our foreign policy.

First of all I would like to express my deep satisfaction with the new Bill increasing the allocation for aid to underdeveloped countries. If I am not mistaken the Bill obtained your approval following Sir Anthony Eden's visit to Washington. The Bill was well timed, particularly in the light of Ambassador Cooper's recent reports emphasizing the catastrophic drop in American prestige in India especially after Mr. Lullies' statement that Portugal should keep Goa.

I am sorry to have to point out that my arguments in favour of expanding our economic measures were misinterpreted. I have not, and never have had, any fundamental differences with the administration as regards the general line of our foreign policy. I appreciate as much as anybody does the importance of military alliances but I believe that they call for an approach different from that of the state department so far. We should not shut our eyes to the fact that military alliances are becoming increasingly unpopular.

Ausschnitt aus dem vertraulichen Schreiben Rockefellers an Eisenhower

Bonn fürchtet Wiedervereinigungsprogramm der SED

Bonn (ND). In zunehmendem Maße wird in westdeutschen bürgerlichen und adenauertrauen Zeitungen gefordert, im Wahlkampf nicht die Frage der Wiedervereinigung zu behandeln. Das Stichwort für die CDU-Zeitungen gab das Klerus-Blatt „Christ und Welt“ am 9. Februar. In einem ausführlichen Kommentar zu den Deutschlandvorschlägen des Zentralkomitees der SED verlanzt es

gramm für die Sicherung einer friedlichen Zukunft Deutschlands und die demokratische Wiedervereinigung besitzt. Das ist inzwischen auch vom Ausland her bestätigt worden, nicht zuletzt durch die Botschaft Bulganins an Adenauer. Gerade durch die Konfrontierung des Programms der SED mit der zur gleichen Zeit im Bundestag vorgetragenen aggressiven Konzep-

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Beraten

Berlin (ND) Nationalrats führte am 13. März von Prof. eine Beratung Deutschland i Nationalen Fi bert Norde einleitenden F

was done on a prewar machine made in eastern Germany. Mr. Rockefeller's real correspondence is done on an electric typewriter with particular attention to neatness and carefully correct spelling and punctuation. The forger was also clearly

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To put the problem in a nutshell - our policy must be both "global" i.e. embrace every part of the world and also "total" i.e. include political, psychological, economic, military and special methods integrated into one whole. In other words the task is to hit all our horses in a single team. To illustrate my point of view better I want to attempt some analysis - even if it is a superficial one - of some aspects of our foreign policy as it has been conducted in Europe and Asia.

In Europe we started with economic aid. It is quite possible that without the Marshall Plan we would have found it much more difficult to form NATO. That in fact happened in this case was that a coordinated effort of what we hoped was a solid military union. Even critics within NATO itself say that it suffers from undue emphasis on the military aspects at the expense of the economic factors which played such a big role in its formation.

In Asia our efforts were far less successful. The principal reason for this, as I believe, is clearly stated: the conception of force was too heavily skewed. The most stress was laid on the military side while we largely ignored the importance of preliminary economic preparation for the alliances we wished to make.

This underestimation of the vital economic aspects on the part of the State Department has led to the creation of SEATO and the Baghdad Pact on a foundation of sand. And I would prefer to use the sandiest of sand. The American tradition has been that "the dollar follows trade". In spite of this wise tradition all our energy has been directed to building up the military side of SEATO. It is hardly plausible, however, that the members of SEATO would want to be involved in a war against Communist China, with the US backing Chiang Kai-shek. Yet this apparently was the State Department's calculation.

2. In order to strengthen and, if possible, to broaden these alliances we must draw up a program of economic development extensive political and military influence as great or greater than that we obtained through the Marshall Plan in Europe. That is why the main line of our "economic" allocation for underdeveloped countries should be channelled through bodies set up to serve our military alliances. This should serve to make the alliances themselves more attractive. If necessary, certain changes in the form of these alliances should be considered.

In other words, wherever possible we should, emphasize the economic aspects of our alliances. We should widely and wisely make use of economic aid to those countries which we intend to draw into alliance with us, but we should do it more flexibly and carefully than hitherto. In the past we have sometimes tied up the provision of economic aid with demands to join one or other of our alliances in such a crude manner that many potential allies were alienated. It is necessary for us to act carefully and patiently, and in the early stages confine ourselves to securing very modest political concessions in exchange for our economic aid in some exceptional cases - even without any concessions in return. The way will then be open to us, but at a later stage, to step up both our political price and our military demands.

You seemed to be ruled by these considerations when you agreed to offer economic aid to Egypt to help it with the construction of the Aswan dam. If the Egyptian Government accepts this aid a situation will be created in which Egypt will inevitably become bogged down in over-ambitious construction and will need our support for a long period of time. I think it logical to extend this type of co-operation to other countries. And in particular never to forget the theory of cumulative rather than immediate political demands on which it is based.

3. In line with this I suggest that those countries to which economic aid is to be extended, should be divided into three groups, different methods and forms of economic co-operation being applied to each of these groups.

First of all, we should pick out the countries with anti-communist governments friendly to us, which are already bound to the U.S. through stable long-term military agreements. In this case governmental subsidies

unaware that Mr. Rockefeller dislikes frequent use of the pronoun "I."

Such errors as these, however, to the predominant extent that the forgeries are aimed at public opinion rather than officialdom, detract less from their effectiveness than one might expect. Once the forged documents have achieved their initial impact on the public mind, especially in underdeveloped

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areas, denials and official exposures are likely to be met with skepticism, if indeed they come to public notice at all. Radio Moscow promptly mounted a major effort to publicize the Rockefeller letter and carried it during the following week in dozens of broadcasts in all languages, initially favoring audiences in underdeveloped countries but then broadening to include western Europe. It was assisted by other Bloc media and auxiliary press outlets outside the Bloc.

On 10 March another false document was surfaced in *Neues Deutschland* to sharpen up one aspect of the Rockefeller revelation, the grasping colonialism of American policy, as a weapon particularly effective against Near East targets. A purported memorandum from Secretary Dulles to the President written in the last half of December 1956 and urging vigorous U.S. action to step into the Near East power vacuum, it was paraphrased with quotes and described as proof that the Wall Street views of Rockefeller formed the basis for the U.S. Government policy manifest in the Eisenhower Doctrine since enunciated.

This occasioned another week-long burst of overt propaganda playing on both documents, mostly for the benefit of the Near East. Covert assets were also employed: in late March an East German trade delegation official met secretly with Arab League personnel and arranged to have the two forgeries translated into Arabic for hand-out to the governments of member states. In November, with the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon, publicity for the documents was renewed, and by the end of that month more than a hundred instances of replay had been reported, some 80 percent of them world-wide Moscow broadcasts. Even in 1960 the Rockefeller letter continued to crop up—in February in a Hanoi news dispatch, in March in the Bagdad CP organ *Ittihad al-Shaab*, and in July in a broadcast from Peking to South Asia.

Patterns and Current Progress

It is notable that although the massive overt propaganda facilities of the USSR, seconded by the almost comparable media of Communist China, had the preponderant role in exploiting all nine of the black campaigns studied, neither of them did the original surfacing of any of the forgeries (unless you count the London embassy a propaganda facility in trans-



NEUES DEUTSCHLAND

ORGAN DES ZENTRALKOMITEES DER SOZIALISTISCHEN EINHEITSPARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS

Berlin Sonntag 18 März 1957

„Neues Deutschland“ veröffentlicht Geheim- Memorandum von Dulles

Feststellungen
des amerikanischen Außenministers Dulles
über die schwere Niederlage des Imperialismus im Nahen Osten,
über das gestiegene Ansehen der Sowjetunion bei den
arabischen Völkern.

seine Vorschläge an Präsident Eisenhower:

Wie sich die USA die Herrschaft über die Erdölvorkommen
des Nahen Ostens sichern,
wie sie neue, mit Atomwaffen ausgerüstete militärische Stütz-
punkte im Nahen Osten errichten
und durch propagandistische Winkelzüge die Öffentlichkeit der
arabischen Länder irreführen sollen.
sind in einem geheimen, von Dulles dem USA-Präsidenten
unterbreiteten Memorandum enthalten.

Eine inhaltliche Wiedergabe dieses Geheimmemorandums, in
dem sich Dulles die Vorschläge des von uns veröffentlichten
Rockefellerbriefes zu eigen macht, veröffentlichen wir auf
Seite 3 unserer heutigen Ausgabe mit dem Titel „Der Feind
der arabischen Freiheit“.

mitting the four U.S. pilot letters or Khrushchev's complicity in opening the unstable-pilot campaign). Of the overt Bloc media the German were most frequently used for surfacing, but even they brought out only six of the 32 false documents.

There were doubtless other individual forgeries during this period that have not come to light, but our list of nine internationally distributed multiple-forgery series is probably fairly complete. It is therefore of interest that they form an almost regular pattern of geographical targeting for the two years in which they were initiated—in 1957 one each aimed at Europe, Asia, the Near East, and the world at large, with none specifically for the western hemisphere; in 1958 the same, but an extra one for the Near East. If this pattern reflects norms imposed on KGB planning sections, 1958 must have created in the Near East section some Heroes of Socialist

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Psywar By Forgery

Forgery, and there should have been a shake-up of the Western Hemisphere staff. Perhaps this is what produced in 1960 the covertly circulated forged Dillon airgram exposed by the State Department on 2 September, referring to "the program set up [by the United States] to liquidate the Castro regime" but dated 5 February, when Under Secretary Dillon was out of town, and marred by formal errors and one of those ineradicable British spellings, "defence."

More seriously, the pattern of recent forgeries suggests that Sino-Soviet black psychological warfare operations, like overt propaganda attacks, may be not only sensitive to the opportunities provided by hot spots around the world, as one might expect, but also subject to administrative damping during efforts to relax East-West tensions. From March 1959 through May 1960 only two new forgeries of the type under discussion appeared, one in *Blitz* for the Far East and one in *Neues Deutschland* for Europe. But between the collapse at the Summit and the U.S. election of a successor to President Eisenhower, production was increased sevenfold, on a neat schedule of one new forgery per month.

One of these, happily countered by the State Department before publication, was photocopies mailed to Tokyo newspapers of a purported U.S. embassy memorandum showing that Japan-based U-2 planes were going to be hidden temporarily on Okinawa and then secretly returned to Japan. But the hottest spot of 1960 has of course been Africa. In April MTT's 1959 story of concentration camps and poison wells, credited to the Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat in Cairo, was used in a speech by a UAR delegate to the Afro-Asian conference in Conakry. In June appeared a forged paper revealing British and American imperialist plots against the newly independent African countries. And in early September, with Lumumba still ascendant in the Congo, Leopoldville newspapers received copies of a frank "letter from Under Secretary Dillon to Ambassador Timberlake":

Limit your contacts with Lumumba's political opponents to a minimum, especially with Tshombe's people, although they should not be discontinued for a moment. We of course are certain that after what he received in Washington, Tshombe will not go back on us, at least of his own free will. God only knows what these blacks are likely to do. It would be difficult to find more mercenary creatures

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in the whole world. At present, we here do not envisage a more suitable candidate for the post of Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo. At present he seems to be the only suitable replacement for the high-handed postal clerk who stands on the pedestal as the "liberator of the Congo."

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